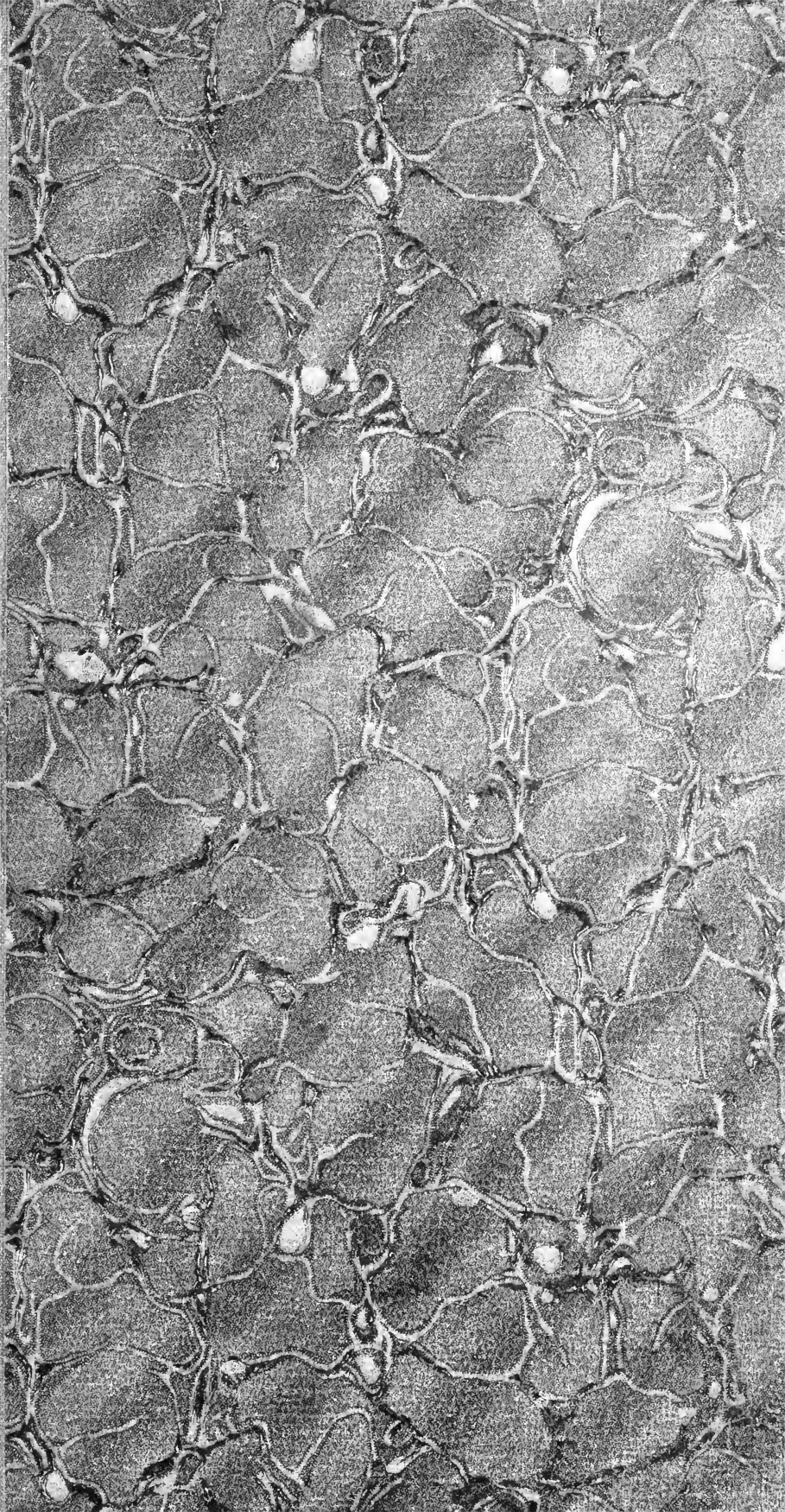
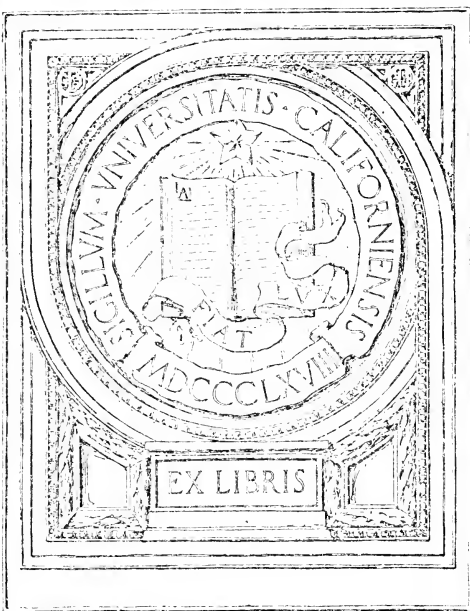


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SPEECH OF HON. GILBERT DEAN OF NEW YORK.

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SPEECH

OF

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HON. GILBERT DEAN, OF NEW YORK,
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ON

THE PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, THE PRESIDENCY, &c.,

9
DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AUGUST 23, 1852.

WASHINGTON:

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1852.



THE PRESIDENCY, &c.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union (Mr. HARRIS, of Tennessee, in the chair)—

Mr. DEAN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: More than two months have now passed since the Whig party, or rather a section of it, nominated its candidate for the Presidency with the sole and avowed intention of retaining for itself official position, by disregarding capacity, and grasping for that most unsubstantial shadow, availability. The more certainly to accomplish this object, its recognized committee have scattered broadcast over the land, pictures so ridiculous as to excite only emotions of contempt in the minds of those to whom they were addressed, and provoke to scorn the men whose judgment has been insulted by so unworthy an appeal. These pictures, or caricatures, were accompanied by stories so now, marvelous, and apocryphal, that the tales of Munchausen, and the narration of Sinbad are veritable history in comparison. To those who feel an interest in the problem we are so happily solving—the power of man to control his individual action, to determine his own choice—it is a source of the highest gratification that all these appeals have met with no response from the popular heart—have created no excitement in the public mind.

This experiment has taught its originators a truth they should have learned before, that when the country is prosperous, trade moving in its accustomed channels, agriculture receiving its wonted reward, manufactures and the mechanic arts all successful, the people cannot be stirred into commotion by the sound of a trumpet, or waked to enthusiasm by the sight of an epaulet; that reason alone can permanently influence or control the judgment, though prejudice and fiction may occasionally and temporarily excite the passions.

In this state of the public mind, it becomes important to understand the position of parties, and to ascertain what are *obsolete*, and what *living* issues, to be determined by the people at the ballot-box.

The validity or binding efficacy of the several

acts known as the compromise measures, are not an issue between the Whig and Democratic parties. The Convention of each, whether wisely or rightly I will not now say, for the declared purpose of preserving the nationality of its party, without reference to individual opinion, has determined, as a political organization, to acquiesce in those measures. And although there are individuals North and South who do not approve of all of the series, yet, if there is any efficacy in paper platforms or party professions, then for four years, at least, whichever candidate for President, nominated at the Baltimore Conventions, is elected, he is bound to regard those measures as a settlement of the matters to which they relate. The position of General Pierce upon this question is undisputed—that of General Scott is equally unequivocal here; but at the North, where opposition to one of these measures might be profitable, he is represented as occupying ground upon this subject which his language and public pledges repudiate. In some of the leading papers of the party which he now represents, the resolution on the subject of the compromise has never been correctly published; and a telegraphic dispatch, which is quite important in this connection, has been wholly suppressed. From a document issued at the office of the Republic, in this city, and which has been circulated in great numbers in the South by the Whig National Committee, entitled "The Presidential Canvass, or why southern Whigs should support the nominees of the Whig Convention," I extract the following resolution, from what it terms

THE OFFICIAL PLATFORM OF THE WHIG NATIONAL CONVENTION.

"8. The series of acts of the Thirty-first Congress, commonly known as the compromise or adjustment, (the act for the recovery of fugitives from labor included,) are received and acquiesced in by the Whigs of the United States as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the subjects to which they relate, and so far as these acts are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist on their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency to carry out the requirements of the Constitution, and we deprecate all

further agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however made, and we will maintain this settlement as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union."

This document, after publishing the resolutions duly authenticated, says:

"Have the candidates, then, accepted the platform, and will they act up to its requisitions? If they are men of honor and truth, if they have not replied to the Convention with mental reservations that would disgrace them forever, they have assumed all the obligations which that platform imposes, and will discharge all the duties it involves.

"What was the course of General Scott? Immediately on receiving news of his nomination, the General addressed a telegraphic dispatch to a friend in the Convention in the following words: '*Having the honor of being the nominee for President by the Whig National Convention, I shall accept the same, with the platform of principles which the Convention has laid down.*'"

If I were disposed to criticism, I would ask, what it is the General accepts—the nominee or the Convention?

He has been quite as unfortunate in the use of the English here as in his former epistolary efforts. But I leave this to insert the language of the official document in relation to this pledge, its purport and effect in securing the "*unanimous nomination*."

"If General Scott on such an assurance should omit to act up in fidelity to the principles of the Whig platform, would he not stand in history as a dishonored man? So it was understood and received by the Convention, and on the strength of this communication, the nomination was made unanimous."

So far, therefore, as the candidates are concerned, they occupy the same position in reference to this subject, with this exception: that the *unanimous* nomination was given to General Pierce, unpledged and unquestioned, while General Scott, after a session of nearly a week, only obtained it "*on the strength of this communication.*" Southern Whigs, it is true, in large numbers, both in and out of Congress, refuse to support him, but they do it because they see in this nomination and this pledge the truth of the declaration of a certain influential Whig journal, that it was the result of a "corrupt bargain," by which one section was to have the principles, and the other the candidate, and consequently the patronage of the Government. Knowing, as they do, that the creature cannot dethrone the creator, the instrument can be no more potent than the power that originated its movements; that General Scott must therefore be controlled by the same corrupt influences which produced his nomination; that the patronage of his administration must be bestowed upon a section only of the party—that the appointments to office which would be the result of his election, would afford constant evidence of their humiliation, serfdom, and submission; they, and many of their associates in the North, prefer to stand aloof from the contest, or even vote for the Democratic nominee rather than aid in the elevation of those who would look upon them as vanquished rivals, and whose success would be a continual memento of the bondage and degradation of all who had opposed the movement which resulted in the election of the candidate of a faction of the party.

The question of a protective tariff is not an issue between the parties. In 1844, the Whig National Convention which nominated Mr. Clay, put forth the following bold and direct resolution in reference to Whig principles:

"Resolved, That these principles may be summed up as comprising a well-regulated national currency—a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country—the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands—a single term for the Presidency—a reform of Executive usurpations."

The following is the meek and tame resolution of this year, on the subject of the tariff:

"5. Government should be conducted upon principles of the strictest economy, and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof, in time of peace, ought to be *mainly* derived from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and in levying such duties sound policy requires a just discrimination and protection from fraud by specific duties, when practicable, whereby suitable encouragement may be assured to American industry, equally to all classes and to all portions of the country."

It is true, that this resolution has been denounced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. JOHN W. HOWE,] and others, as being "Locofoco, and not Whig doctrine." It is the doctrine of the Whig party as declared by the Convention and sanctioned by the candidate. The tariff of 1846 makes not only a "just discrimination," but a great discrimination. It discriminates in its duties on different articles, dividing them in nine classes—levying upon the first class, consisting of luxuries, a duty of one hundred per cent.; upon the second, forty; upon the third, thirty; fourth, twenty-five; fifth, twenty; sixth, fifteen; seventh, ten; and eighth class, five per cent.; while the ninth class is admitted free of duty—each article, therefore, named in these different schedules is *protected* to the amount of the duty and cost of transportation. And the propriety of making them specific, instead of *ad valorem*, whenever practicable, is a question of detail, and not of principle. The bank has this year disappeared from the family of Whig measures; distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, the abolition of the veto, and reform of Executive usurpations, each have been buried in silence, with no monument to mark the tomb. The grand edifice erected by the genius, and supported by the eloquence, of Clay, has now lost its symmetry and beauty—one by one its columns have fallen. It awaits only the shock of the approaching earthquake to totter into ruin; like the tree whose spreading shade refreshed our boyhood, stretching out its fibres and grasping the earth for support and sustenance, now scathed by the lightning, leafless, branchless, affording no shelter, the naked trunk only remains, ready to fall at the first impulse of the popular breeze.

I hear gentlemen around me say, "That is true." "These questions are passed." Let no one conclude from this that there is no issue between the parties at this election, and consequently no necessity for a contest. Those (if any there are) who take this view of the subject do not distinguish between *principles of action* and the administrative measures which are used to carry out those principles—confound causes with results. There is the same difference now between the opposing parties that there was in the times of Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson. The one directs its energies to secure the advancement and progress of the race; the other exerts its influence to effect the purposes of individual desire. The one seeks the public good; the other the accomplishment of private interests and ends. The one has an abiding hope, a living faith, in the capacity of man; the other places its reliance upon forms and statutes

to restrain his impulses. The one is advancing with the present and seizing upon the future; the other reposes in the shade of the past and adheres to its antiquated formulas. The one is in consonance with the pulsations of the popular heart; the other seeks to stop its beating; and the various governmental or administrative measures which have been adopted or proposed by these parties have been the *means*, the instrumentalities only, by which they have sought to develop their principles.

As a consequence of this diversity of sentiment, the Federal party has never proposed a measure which has been adopted and acted upon as the settled policy of the country; but, on the contrary, has invariably manifested its hostility to the advance steps of Democratic progress. After a contest between right and prerogative, and the popular verdict has been pronounced, the instinctive propensity of this party to keep the position of official reciprocity compels a reluctant acquiescence; but we find the persons composing it equally horrified and astonished at the next movement of the public mind; hence they have received the descriptive and appropriate cognomen of the party of "*obsolete ideas*." They have not the slightest comprehension of the *principles* of Republicanism, or the symmetry of our system. They look upon Government as an artificial arrangement, a purely factitious creation, instead of the natural state of existence. They hold that its safety is dependent upon the checks and restraints it imposes upon the people, and place their faith in these rather than in the actual and existent principles of which it is only the external manifestation. Whenever, therefore, they have been intrusted with the management of the Government, they have shown their absolute incompetency to direct its harmonious movements, or develop its inherent powers. Though the ignoramus, destitute of the first rudiments of mathematics, may, by an acquaintance with the tables which science has prepared, calculate the contents of a field, or the occurrence of an eclipse, yet it requires the mind, disciplined by study, and enlightened by learning, to prepare these, and with them reveal the secrets of nature, follow the planets in their course, and discover the causes which produce such results. So with our system, emanating from the people, experience has proved that only those whose feelings and sympathies are with the people, Democratic, have ever been able to grasp its significance, or guide its movements. A reference to the history of each Administration would prove the truth of this position, would show that every increase of national domain, every assertion and maintenance of international republican law, every advancement of popular rights, has been the work of Democratic Administrations—the result and direct product of Democratic thought and action; while all that the opposing party have ever achieved has been to retain the position its predecessor had acquired.

I do not propose at this time further to enlarge upon or elaborate this subject, but to confine myself to the other and equally conclusive manner of proving the incapacity of the anti-Democratic party to administer the Government, by showing that it has increased the public expenditure; brought into the management of public affairs a set of men who regard the Treasury as lawful prize—who look upon the offices as places to fur-

nish means for enriching themselves and their dependents, and not as stations to be occupied for the benefit of all—who look to the *salary*, and not the discharge of official duty, as the end and object to be sought—who hold the *pay*, the emolument, which is only the incident, as the principal, the sole inducement; and, by the facts which I shall adduce, show that the question between the parties is, whether the happiness of the people is to be promoted, and the resources of the nation developed by the due and proper exercise of the constitutional functions of the Government, or its powers perverted, its Treasury applied to schemes of individual cupidity and the maintenance of a system of political pauperism, and whether the civil or military is to be the predominant power in the Government. In doing this, I am obliged to examine in detail the action of the present thoroughly Whig Administration, and compare its management of finances with that which immediately preceded it.

Mr. Polk was inaugurated March 4, 1845. The fiscal year begins on the first day of July, and is estimated for by the various Departments the preceding December, and the Congress of that winter always makes appropriations for the year commencing the succeeding July. The last fiscal year of Mr. Tyler's administration ended on the 30th of June, 1845. Mr. Polk's administration is responsible for the expenditures from that date. It is also proper to state here, that there existed at that time a large public debt, which fell due during his term of office, but for which he is in nowise responsible. By an examination of the official reports I find that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1846, the total receipts were, \$29,499,247 06. Total expenditure for that year, \$28,031,114 20.

The Mexican war broke out in May of that fiscal year. It had been for months threatened and impending, and there were largely-increased expenditures for warlike munitions; and by the report of Secretary Walker, in December following, we find charged to Mexican hostilities in that fiscal year—

War Department.....	\$3,304,848 04
Navy Department.....	147,619 40
	<hr/>
	\$3,452,467 44
Payment on account of public debt.....	1,217,823 31
	<hr/>
	\$4,670,290 75

This amount deducted from the total cost of the year, leaves the sum of \$23,360,823 45 as the whole peace expenditure of that year. This includes also a large item paid to militia of States and Territories, chargeable, I suppose, to the war; but I have not deducted it.

For the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1847, the whole receipts of the Government were, \$61,152,428 90. Expenditure, \$59,451,177 65.

During this year the payment on account of the public debt was, \$3,522,082 37; leaving the total expenditure, omitting public debt, \$55,899,095 28.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1848, total receipts, \$58,394,701 84. Total expenditure, \$58,241,167 24.

During this year the payments on account of the public debt amounted to \$15,429,197 21— which, deducted from the whole expenditure, leaves the amount, (omitting the public debt,) \$42,811,970 03.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1849, the total receipts of the Government were, \$48,983,632 10. Total expenditure, \$46,798,667 82.

During this year there was paid on account of the public debt, and installments to Mexico, \$16,453,272 39. Omitting payment on account of the public debt, the whole expenditure was \$30,345,395 43.

We find the expenditures of Mr. Polk's administration of four years, including the public debt and all the cost of a war, in which there were eighty thousand men in the field, amounted to the sum of \$192,522,126 91; making a yearly average of \$48,130,531 72. The amount of public debt, including the sum paid to Mexico under the treaty, was \$36,622,375 28, being a yearly average of \$9,155,593 82 paid during a war. The whole amount of expenditure, deducting the amount paid on the public debt, is \$155,899,751 63; the annual average expenditure being \$38,974,937 90.

We commence now, the three years of Whig Administration of the finances, during a time when we were "at peace with all the world and the rest of mankind," beginning with the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1849, and ending June 30, 1850.

The total receipts for that year, were \$45,959,813 18. Total expenditure, \$43,002,168 69. There was paid, on account of public debt, \$7,437,366 41; leaving the expenditure, \$35,564,802 28. This year had been estimated for by Mr. Walker, including public debt, Mexican installments, and all other expenses, at \$33,213,152 73. The actual expenditure of the first year of Whig rule, therefore, exceeded the necessary and estimated expenditure, \$12,746,660 35, or over fifty per cent. of the whole peace expenditure of Mr. Polk's administration.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1851, the whole receipts were, \$58,917,524 36. The whole expenditure, \$48,005,878 68. There was paid this year on the public debt, \$4,217,986 10. The total expenditure—omitting the public debt—was \$43,787,892 58.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1852, the total receipts were, \$49,745,598 72. The actual amount of money paid out prior to July 1, 1852, was \$45,735,591 73. But a deficiency bill, to make up for moneys which the Administration had spent beyond the appropriation, had a long time prior to this been reported, but had not yet become a law, which, however, has subsequently passed, amounting to \$5,434,882 36, and is to be added to the preceding amount, which will increase the total expenditure for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1852, to \$51,170,474 09. There has been paid during this year on the public debt, \$6,022,115 53. Leaving for the actual expenditures, exclusive of debt, for the year ending June 30th, 1852, \$45,148,358 56.

The total expenditures for the three years of the Whig Administration, including public debt, is \$142,178,521 46—being an annual average of \$47,392,840 48.

The total amount of public debt paid during this period of three years is \$17,677,468 04.

Yearly average, \$5,892,489 34.

The total amount of expenditure for these three years, omitting the amount paid on account of the public debt, is \$124,501,053 42.

Yearly average, \$41,500,351 14—exceeding the

yearly average of the time of Mr. Polk's administration the sum of \$2,525,313 24.

The yearly average of public debt paid by this Administration has been but \$5,892,489 34, while the yearly average of Mr. Polk's administration was \$9,155,593 82.

Annual average excess, \$3,263,104 48.

I have thus shown that, omitting the amount paid for principal and interest on the public debt, the annual expenses of this Administration, in a time of peace, have exceeded by more than \$2,500,000 the expenses of the preceding Democratic Administration in conducting for the first time in our history an expensive and protracted foreign war, which resulted in doubling the area of our territory. This is a startling announcement, and the natural inquiry is made, where has the money gone? Before proceeding to answer that, I desire to call attention to the obvious fact, that no comparison can be fairly made between the total expenditures of these two Administrations, because one had only to provide for a peace establishment—the other had to bear the enormous burdens and multiplied exactions necessary to the support of an invading army quartered upon foreign soil. I find in a speech made in this House, February 14, 1850, by the Hon. GEORGE W. JONES, of Tennessee, on the finances of the Government, that he has examined the documents, and deducted from the annual expenses of the administration of Mr. Polk those items which were clearly chargeable to the war, and that during the three years in which the war was actually carried on, the expenditures of the Government, exclusive of the war, were as follows:

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1846...	\$22,864,296 52
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1847...	24,728,345 61
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1848...	23,522,068 40

From the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, in December, 1850, it appears that the average annual expenditures of the Government for the three years ending June 30, 1843-'44-'45, exclusive of public debt, was \$21,277,901 64. We have seen that now, after a lapse of only seven years, the average yearly expenditure is more than \$41,500,000 exclusive of the payments on account of the public debt.

But why this enormous increase? We are answered, "on account of the extension of our territory." This will not do—when we conquered that territory, and held it by the force of our arms, and supported there an immense army at a less expense. But the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was concluded in February, 1848, and published by the President here in July of that year; so that for one whole fiscal year, ending June 30, 1849, the last of Mr. Polk's administration, we were in possession of every acre of this territory; and it being the first year after the war, it was necessarily the most expensive. We were obliged to provide and locate there a peace establishment, and undergo very many expenses which could never again occur; and yet we find that during that year, including the entire cost of the Army and Navy, and pensions, the whole expenditure was only \$30,345,395 43—more than \$11,000,000 less than the yearly average of the three succeeding years.

I have shown that the first year of General Taylor's administration exceeded by \$12,746,660 35 the estimates of Secretary Walker. But the first

year of Mr. Fillmore's, under the administration of the Treasury Department by Mr. Corwin, exceeded the estimate of Mr. Meredith, General Taylor's Secretary of the Treasury, by the moderate sum of \$8,856,504 77. So that it seems that even the *Galphin Cabinet* has been outdone by their Gardiner successors.

I now proceed to show in what manner this money has been shoveled out of the Treasury; for it would seem they could not have taken time even to count or weigh it. We cannot go into the various Departments while under the control of their present heads, and see how or where the treasure is abstracted. Most of the abuses are concealed. We can only observe results, trusting that a light will be kindled in those dark recesses that will reveal the secret pipes which have been draining this almost inexhaustible reservoir. Until that time we must wait, contenting ourselves with the indicia of fraud—the occasional debris or scattered remnants that we can find—the tracks we can discover, which point invariably in one direction.

The Army is the great pregnant mother of a monster-brood of abuses. I have been amazed, at examining the reports of the War Department, with its hydra-headed military bureaus. We have, in addition to the Secretary of War, nine military bureaus, each presided over by some distinguished chieftain, residing in Washington, receiving large salaries, and provided with their chief clerks and subordinates—for what? To transact the *civil business* of the Army! But let us see how this Department is managed. The last report of the Secretary of War shows that there were on the lists, during the last year, *ten thousand five hundred and thirty-eight* men, which, owing to desertions, sickness, and deaths, will afford "an effective force of eight thousand five hundred." I had made an estimate of the amount which it costs per man, according to the documents submitted; but since making it, I have found the following, from a speech delivered in the Senate on the 15th of April last, by Senator HUNTER, of Virginia, chairman of the Finance Committee; and as he has every opportunity for the most accurate information, and is known to the country by long and faithful service in Congress, I prefer giving his statement rather than my own. He says:

"I find, on comparing the expenditures for the year ending the 30th of June, 1845, and the year ending June, 1851, that, in 1845, the whole expense under that head was \$3,155,027; and in 1851, the expense of the Army proper was \$8,949,000. When you come to add to that \$1,221,856, to be for expenditures in the Quartermaster's Department, not appearing in the Register's books, you have an expenditure for the Army proper of upwards of \$10,000,000—being more than three times as much as it was in 1845. We have the estimate for ten thousand five hundred troops in the field; and when we come to take the expense for the Quartermaster's Department for the last fiscal year, we find it comes very nearly to \$500 per man under that head alone. In the Army proper, the expense, when the sum of \$1,221,000 is added as above to the Secretary's statement, is about \$965 per man. And the whole military expenditures of that year are \$11,811,792, as stated in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury." * * * "But the fair mode of estimating these expenditures, for the purpose of comparison, is to take those for the Army proper; and under that head we have, as I have before stated, \$965 per man for the last fiscal year. But when we come to look at some of these items, we find they are of a character that must of a necessity startle us. During the last fiscal year they spent in Texas alone \$1,040,000; in California, \$827,000; in Oregon, \$187,000; in New Mexico, \$806,154."

The expenditures for the Quartermaster's Department alone, for the year ending June 30, 1852, are thus shown to be nearly \$500 per man; and the whole expense, per man, \$965. In 1845, a time of peace as now, the whole expenses of the Army proper, per man, were \$366 50; and in the Quartermaster's Department, less than \$115 per man; showing an increase in the Quartermaster's Department, since 1845, of more than *four hundred per cent*. During the year 1847, the most expensive year of the Mexican war, the cost of each soldier, *per capita*, in the Quartermaster's Department, was \$374 81; and now it costs much more to keep our soldiers resting, than it then did to maintain them fighting. But the question returns to plague the managers of this Department, how are these amounts made up? The pay of each soldier is *eight dollars* per month, or *ninety-six dollars* per year. This amount is not included in the expenditure of the quartermaster. Nor is it any of his business to furnish subsistence, ordnance, ammunition, or medical expenses. There are a few items to which I desire to call attention, which, in a very limited examination of the official reports, have seemed worthy of notice. By appendix C to the Quartermaster General's report, I find that, July 30, 1850, L. G. Capers was paid *ninety-six cents* per one hundred pounds, for transporting in wagons from San Antonio, in Texas, to Fort Merrill, 67,500 pounds of freight—nearly one dollar per hundred. There are other charges about the same date, some at the same rates, and others a trifle lower. What is the distance and character of the road? By a subsequent portion of the report, we find Fort Merrill is one hundred miles south by east of San Antonio; and on the same page, in speaking of the roads to San Antonio, it says, "all generally good natural roads." This would seem to be a most exorbitant price. Whether the contractor and any of the officers at the station divided the profits, we are not informed by the official documents. The inference, however, is irresistible.

From the same report, I extract the following comparative statement of expenditure:

Year ending June 30, 1845.	Do. 1851.
For forage	\$99,794 20.....\$1,287,327 91
For constructing and repairing military buildings	97,161 76.....558,254 33
For rents	63,685 21.....187,323 78
For incidental expenses	89 818 60.....392,728 14
For transportation	130,053 52.....2,194,408 51
Traveling allowances for officers	47,650 83.....106,759 65

It will be seen by the above, that while every branch of expenditure has increased greatly, the one for forage has in six years been multiplied by more than ten, and that for transportation by nineteen. One cause of this is, in purchasing at distant places, and unnecessarily paying for transportation, when the same articles could be purchased as cheaply at or near the stations. But unfortunately for the Government, the contractors—the men who are to make the money by furnishing these supplies—do not inhabit the *Territories*, they live in the *States*, and are rewarded for party services by contracts, to furnish articles at extravagant prices and great distances from where they are needed. This affords another class of contractors a remunerating job for transporting these supplies; and though it be "carrying coals to Newcastle," yet it answers the end intended—an ex-

cuse for putting their arms in the Treasury. During the Mexican war, in the same climate, it cost nothing for forage for horses, mules, &c. Now, more than a million is annually paid for this alone. Hay, where it can be had for the cutting, is purchased at \$50 per ton, in a climate where "grazing is good for all but two months in a year," and in some places the "whole year," and corn \$3 50 per bushel, where the soil yields its natural products a hundred fold. But the secret of it all is to be found in the fact, "that the officers attached to the Army at the different depôts, availing themselves of their positions, have speculated in those articles with which it was the duty of the Quartermaster's Department to supply the Army."

We find another very large increase in the table I have inserted above, in the item of rents; and on examining into the details, I find officers' quarters hired at a most exorbitant rate. I will not cite instances in California, where everything is known to be high, but in New Mexico, where there is no reason for more than the average prices. "One house, occupied as quarters by Brevet-Major O. S. Sheppard, Lieutenant L. N. Bannon, and Quartermaster's store-room, \$85 per month," or \$1,020 per year. "Quarters for Colonel Alexander, commanding, \$50 per month," or \$600 per year, and numerous others in proportion. Little did our revolutionary soldiers and officers, sleeping during our northern winters in tents and barns, or General Jackson and his brave associates in later times, suppose that their successors were at the public expense to quarter in princely palaces, and revel in royal halls! But into such degenerate hands have we fallen in these "piping times of peace." Who is responsible for such flagrant and long-continued abuses? General Scott, who now and for years has stood at the head of the Army—he is the General-in-Chief—he occupies a room in the War Department which he terms "HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY," and is receiving a large annual salary amounting to more than the head of any Department of the Government. Instead of reforming or retrenching, we find him, in his report made December 18, 1849, recommending the increase of our military establishment by the addition of three new regiments to the Army, which at the present rates, would make an annual *additional expenditure of nearly three millions!* Congress very properly failing to adopt the recommendation, he in November last repeats it, slightly varied only, and refers to his former report.

The present Congress has been alike inattentive to this order, issued and dated in the General's comfortable rooms in Washington, at the "HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY." Should he, unfortunately, be able to add to this, "*Headquarters of the Treasury,*" with a hundred thousand office-holders bowing at his nod, and a Congress of his own, I have no doubt he would be able, in a single year, to double this standing army that is now eating out our substance, and which could then be brought to bear upon the deliberations of this body. The experience of this nation has shown that a large standing army is wholly unnecessary; that the moment a war is declared, the boldest and the bravest soldiery the world has ever known springs into existence as if by magic—from the volunteer yeomanry of the country. And that will be a sad day for public liberty, which shall give to the

military power a greater preponderance than it now possesses in the Government.

The last Congress cut down the estimates for the War Department one half. Did that stay the expenditure? Not at all. This branch of the Government, adopting "the military rule of conduct," went on arbitrarily, in defiance of law, and took \$730,000 of unexpended balances which had been appropriated in 1847 and 1848, to pay soldiers in the Mexican war, and used it without authority, and in direct violation both of the Constitution and the statute. Senator HUNTER, in speaking of this case, uses the following language:

"The Secretary of War went to an appropriation, made on 2d March, 1847, for pay of ten regiments of regulars, and on 23d April, 1851, he transferred that appropriation, of more than three years' standing, to the Quartermaster's Department. What, then, becomes of that provision of the Constitution which says that military appropriations shall continue but two years? Was not that a violation not only of the spirit but of the letter of this provision? He transferred in this way, after Congress had said he should not have these appropriations, about the amount for which he applied to the Committee on Finance, and which was not given to him; and thus money which Congress appropriated years ago for the payment of regulars in the Mexican war, not dreaming that they were to be carried to such a service, was used more than three years afterwards for the service of the Quartermaster's Department."

And not being able to find enough of old and unexpended appropriations in the Treasury, the War Department went on and contracted liabilities for a large amount, and sent them to us in a deficiency bill, and we had the alternative presented to pass the bill, and thus provide for the payment of these debts, or repudiate the action of the Government, and take away the protection due to the settlers upon our frontiers.

The Navy Department is, by no means, free from abuses. Officers, with no duties to discharge, are hanging around this capital, or visiting Neptune only at the watering places, and receiving pay for years together under the name of "officers waiting orders." Four hundred and seventy-nine thousand four hundred and fifty dollars went into the naval appropriation bill of this year for these respectable gentlemen. In this place should the knife be applied. But we hear no word from the Secretary, recommending a reform of this crying abuse. If there are more officers in the Navy than can find employment, let the number be reduced; if not, the Navy should be relieved from this incubus, by ordering them into service. By reference to the various reports, I find the following expenditures:

For the year ending June 30, 1845,	\$4,902,845 93.
For the year ending June 30, 1846,	\$6,450,862 70.
For the year ending June 30, 1847,	\$7,931,633 68.
For the year ending June 30, 1848,	\$9,406,737 28.
For the year ending June 30, 1849,	\$9,869,818 20.
For the year ending June 30, 1850,	\$7,923,313 18.
For the year ending June 30, 1851,	\$9,044,597 11.

But the Secretary, in his report of the expenditures of the year 1851, adds:

"The unexpended balances in the Treasury that have been appropriated, &c., amount to \$4,182,296 23—all of which will be required to meet the outstanding obligations, due on account of the objects for which these appropriations were made."

It will be seen by this that the late Secretary—and now Whig candidate for Vice President—presents no claims to economy, but keeps up the expenditures in his Department even beyond the war standard.

But great as has been the increase in expendi-

ture in the various departments of the Government, none has been multiplied in a more rapid ratio than the Indian Department. Where we formerly counted by thousands, now the estimates are made by millions, with constantly-accruing deficiencies. The cause is to be found in the gross abuses which prevail, one of which consists in the appointment, from the old States, of Indian agents as a reward for political services. General Houston, who is most familiar with this subject, in the Senate, in June last, said:

"The national expenditure now in New Mexico, to maintain the troops and give ostensible and nominal defense, is \$6,000,000 annually. Have the troops there killed one Indian? Have they made reclamation of one horse? Have they rescued one person, or prevented the taking of one scalp?

"These are facts which I present. If men who are qualified to discharge the duties of agents—men who know the habits of Indians; who are familiar with their mode of life, who can traverse the prairies with them, and exercise an influence and guardianship over them, were appointed, we should have a different situation of frontier security. But when men—whether favorites or not I know not, and care not—who are unacquainted with everything necessary to their duties, are appointed, it is an insult, and an indignity, and usurpation, on the part of the Administration."

But this abuse, great as it is, sinks into utter insignificance compared with others. We are indebted to Hon. WILLIAM M. GWIN, United States Senator from California, for revelations of a most startling character in relation to the transactions of the Government agents there. The first that I will notice is the appointment of General John Wilson, of Missouri, as Indian Agent to Salt Lake. His salary by law was \$1,500 per annum. He was fitted out with a military escort—the cost of which for the Quartermaster's Department alone was \$12,000, beside the pay and subsistence of the men, and the cost to the other Departments. He staid at Salt Lake, the place of his destination, long enough to recruit—only a few days; then went on, with his family, furniture, and law-books, all at the public expense, to California, deserting the post to which he had been appointed, and for which he had received his salary and such an enormous outfit by way of escort. When his conduct was known at Washington did the Administration censure him for this criminal neglect of official duty? So far from it, he was appointed to another office—that of Navy Agent in California; and a detachment of United States troops was sent hundreds of miles back in the mountains after these law-books, and other property, which he had been obliged to bury and abandon on his way to San Francisco. Senator Gwin uses the following language in relation to this case:

"About the same time, in 1849, a gentleman from the State of Missouri, General John Wilson, was appointed an Indian agent for Salt Lake; and he, also, was furnished with an extravagant outfit and escort to conduct him to his agency.

"He went to the Salt Lake, and staid there long enough to write a letter or two. He then went to California with his family, his books, and his baggage of all descriptions. He was an emigrant, moving at the Government's expense. He reached the valley of the Sacramento about the commencement of the winter season, could carry his effects no further, buried them, and hurried on with his family. By an order that emanated from the Secretary of War, a detachment of the army was ordered out the following spring to bring in the private property belonging to this Indian agent transported for him at Government expense by the Salt Lake to California. I was told by the assistant quartermaster who fitted out the expedition, the principal object of which was to perform this service, that the cost was

little less than \$100,000. This is another of the items that creates the necessity of deficiency bills, and charged as an expenditure in California. After General Wilson got to California, he resigned his agency, but no censure was cast on him for having passed through the country where he was assigned to duty, and emigrating, at such an enormous expense to the Government, to another part of the country; but he was actually appointed to another office in California. He was made Navy Agent at San Francisco. This same gentleman is one of the high-priests of the Whig party in California. He lately presided over one of the largest Whig Conventions which ever assembled in that State."

In September, 1850, an appropriation of \$25,000 was made "to enable the President to hold treaties with the Indian tribes in the State of California." The President, under this, organized a board of commissioners, consisting of three persons. These modest gentlemen drew \$150,000 of public money from the collector at San Francisco, and started, to use their own language, "with an escort of one hundred and one picked men, ten officers, three six-mule covered wagons, and some one hundred and fifty pack mules, to carry our provisions, ammunition, and Indian goods, all under the command of Captain E. D. Keyes, an experienced and excellent officer."

This is indeed doing an extensive business on a very small capital. Under an appropriation of \$25,000, they, in violation of law, take \$150,000, and start off with a cavalcade, the expense of which will be as much more. Surely, the credit system is not yet quite exploded. But an Indian agency thus commenced, is carried out in a style of still greater magnificence. These commissioners, after arriving among the Indians, made presents and gave entertainments that truly "astonished the natives;" and have, for this and other expenses, drawn drafts on the Secretary of the Interior amounting to nearly, or quite, one million of dollars. They have usurped the powers of the President and Senate, by making treaties with the Indian tribes, and proceeding to act upon them without any ratification, the result of which must, in all probability, involve us in an Indian war; and yet these commissioners are not removed, or even censured by the Administration; and the collector at San Francisco, who, in violation of the sub-treasury act, paid them the money, is also retained in office.

There is one other case of official delinquency in California which Senator Gwin has exposed, and which I cannot omit in this place. I allude to the first collector of customs at San Francisco, Mr. Collyer. He was sent across the country with a military escort, at an expense of \$36,000, when the cost of getting there by the usually-traveled and proper route—the Isthmus—would not have exceeded \$500. He then, after seizing upon large numbers of vessels, contrary to law—selling the goods at a mere nominal sum, and thus causing the loss to the United States of \$1,000,000—became a public defaulter to a large amount, and was then again re-nominated by the President for the same office; but the Senate, by nearly a unanimous vote, refused to confirm him. I pass over the thousand other instances of profligate waste of money by the Administration, in California—such as paying \$100 per cord for wood; \$500 per thousand for lumber, to build useless barracks. These are nothing, compared with the cases I have named. If a party which is guilty not only of such gross and palpable violations of law, but outrages upon the proprieties of official position,

and disregard of official responsibility, can be sustained by the American people, then are written constitutions a mockery and a cheat.

But we need not travel to Texas, New Mexico, or California, to seek abuses for the purpose of ascertaining the true character of the men who control the administration of affairs. The proof is before us daily—our own eyes must be closed, if we do not behold it—our ears must be shut not to hear it.

The Galphin and the Gardiner frauds, and the connection of *members of the Cabinet* with these, the selling of political influence for a money consideration by those holding high official position, have become matters of history; and though attempts may be made on this floor and elsewhere, to excuse or palliate those who have been guilty of these offenses, it is all in vain. No matter how elevated the position, or exalted the intellect of the perpetrator, the stain is there, inwrought and ineradicable; and though the effort of a lifetime should be directed to efface it, the "damned spot" will never "out." Rumors of a very suspicious character were prevalent here early in the session, in reference to the connection of certain persons in two of the Departments with contracts made in the office, and the allowance and payment of rejected claims by those Departments after those claims had been purchased in whole, or in part by persons employed in the Departments where they were to be allowed or rejected. In order that these rumors might be put at rest, and the persons implicated be, if innocent, exonerated from groundless suspicion, this House, on the 26th of January last, adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War, and the Postmaster General, be, and hereby are, instructed to cause to be reported to this House, as soon as may be practicable, full and complete lists of all claims, if any, (including principal and interest, and designating each separately,) allowed and paid by the respective Departments, or any Bureaus thereof, since the 4th day of March, Anno Domini 1849, which had been previously presented, suspended, or disallowed in whole or in part, and specifying the character of such claims; and also, that they cause to be reported the names of all persons who at any time acted as the agents or solicitors for said claims, and the persons who received any portion thereof, or were interested therein."

To this resolution neither of these suspected Departments have made any reply. This is what the lawyers would call taking the bill as *confessed*. Why don't they answer it? Would the answer show how certain persons with small salaries, only sufficient to yield them an economical support, can live in fine style, keep their retinue of servants, and make investments in stocks? Would it show the people, the voters, the tax-payers, how a man can take the Bankrupt act, and in less than ten years, occupying a subordinate position in one of the Departments, be able to build and own fine city houses, and speculate in property? Such knowledge might be useful to the public. It was for such information we sought in the resolution. We cannot get it, it seems, until the Administration is changed. How many cases like the following would an answer to the above resolution give us? I quote from a late speech of Senator HUNTER:

"A claim for compensation was made on the part of the owners of the steamboat Watchman, for its use in 1835 and 1836. This demand was presented soon after that time to Mr. Hagner, and an allowance of something like \$2,700

was then made. Once, and perhaps twice, afterwards an attempt was made to reopen the account during Mr. Hagner's term of office. He said that the only effect of the new evidence was to make him doubt the propriety of the original allowance. He said, too, that the claim was closed. Both he and the Comptroller gave opinions against it. But on September 28th, 1850, it was allowed by the present Auditor, and an amount of \$44,750 found due by him. The question then arose as to the means of paying the claim. A balance was found of an old appropriation made 23d August, 1842, for the payment of Florida militia for services in 1839 and 1840. This balance was transferred to the head of another old appropriation—"the suppression of Indian hostilities"—and thus paid."

Forty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars paid on a claim twice rejected by a Democratic Administration!

The way these things are managed, and the Treasury plundered, is said to be as follows: Some clerk, or other officer in the Department before which the claim is or has been pending, either buys it, or, like Mr. Corwin, in the Gardiner swindle, sells his *services and influence* for a percentage—"a contingent interest" in it. He is then in a position where he can find or *simulate evidence*. He sees each link that is wanting, and supplies it. The claim is put through, the money paid, and the official, for his very efficient services, takes the lion's share. The extent of this abuse and robbery, I believe, is enormous; but we can never know the whole until after a full investigation. There is a double evil here—an inducement for these men to throw obstacles in the way of *honest* claims, until the owner, wearied and disheartened, will sell for a small consideration, and a temptation to those who should be the guardians, to become the plunderers of the Treasury.

I will not go further into particulars, but call upon the suspected Departments to answer now. Seven months have passed since the resolution was adopted—a sufficient time, one would think, to answer any inquiry. Or do they plead the felon's privilege, and refuse any response, because an answer *would criminate themselves*?

There is another abuse which has become general—the appointment of clerks wholly unfitted for their stations, merely on account of the partisan services of themselves or their friends. Such appointments have driven from employment many of the competent and faithful, and filled the Departments with idlers and drones, men who hardly visit their desks often enough to be familiar with the way, but divide their time between the Whig committee room and the gambling houses of Washington. Their salaries, however, are regularly paid. There are others who get three and four dollars per day, hire a substitute for one dollar, and pocket the balance. Some of these Departments are looked upon as political alms-houses, where the party paupers are all fed and clothed, and provided for, at the public expense. I quote the testimony of a Whig on this subject. The Hon. T. STEVENS, of Pennsylvania, one day last week, in a debate in this House, said:

"Why, I know that the Secretary of the Interior has taken so many Whigs from certain Whig districts—for instance, from the Wheeling district—and put them into offices here, that he left none at home to vote for the Whig candidates, and they were defeated. [Great laughter.]"

The gentleman neglected to inform us whether Mr. Graham had put the Whig party of North Carolina all into the Navy, and thus produced the late disastrous result there.

I will not go into detail as much as I had in-

tended, as an investigating committee has been appointed in the Senate to inquire into these frauds, who are progressing with their work. A late chief clerk in the Treasury Department, to whom a large contract for building California light-houses had been awarded, *contrary to law, and without advertising*, and who, it was said, had made arrangements to sell out his contract at a bonus of \$32,000 to actual contractors, was the first witness brought before the committee. *He refused to take the oath.* When, however, the terrors of the dungeon were placed before him for this contempt of the authority of the Senate, it is said he reconsidered, and answered. I will not forestall the report of that committee, but only say to this House, and the public, that they must prepare themselves for developments at which the whole nation will be astounded. They will find, that while an honest claim is hooted at and rejected, a forged one is vamped up and passed through, if it only has the right indorsers. They will see that mortification is actually attacking the body-politic, and that this, the great heart of the Republic, the fountain of life, is affected by the disease which is sending its poisoned currents through every artery of the nation.

I ask attention to but a single other source of abuse, and that is the appointment of the same person to discharge the duties of two or more offices, and giving him the full salary of each office. Prior to 1842, General Scott, and some other military officers, had been in the habit of charging the Government for per diem and traveling fees whenever they were directed to do anything which they could possibly say was not within the strict line of their duty as military men. In 1838, while General Scott was receiving full pay as Major General, he had some negotiations with the Cherokees. For this he claimed extra compensation at the rate of eight dollars per day, for two hundred and forty-four days. Mr. Poinsett, Secretary of War under Mr. Van Buren, did not allow it. After the election and inauguration of General Harrison in 1841, General Scott presented his claim. It was paid—amounting to \$2,310 71. Congress, at its next session, hearing of this flagrant abuse, passed a resolution “requiring the ‘Secretary of War to report to the House all cases ‘in which extra compensation has heretofore been ‘allowed to other officers of the Army for services ‘similar to those rendered by General Scott for ‘which he is said to have received extra allowance,’ &c. On the 7th of December, 1842, the Secretary of War, John C. Spencer, made his report to Congress; and by that report it appears that General Scott had received for extra compensation, between the 18th of September, 1818, and 1841, the sum of \$12,518 71. The last item is as follows:

“For a per diem of eight dollars, for two hundred and forty-four days services as commissioner to treat and make arrangements with the Cherokee Indians, from the 11th of April to the 10th of December, 1838, \$1,952; and his expenses during the time, \$358 71.”—

making \$2,310 71. From a report made at the same session of Congress, by Mr. Gilmer, of Pennsylvania, it appears that he received for serving as Major General during the identical same two hundred and forty-four days, the sum of \$3,994 59—making in all \$6,305 30 for eight months. To remedy this abuse, the following provision

was inserted in the Army appropriation bill of that year, prohibiting any repetition of the practice:

“No officer in any branch of the public service, or any other person whose salary, pay, or emoluments, is, or are, fixed by law or regulations, shall receive any additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation, in any form whatever, for the disbursement of the public money, or for any other service or duty whatsoever, unless the same shall be authorized by law, and the appropriation therefor explicitly set forth that it is for such additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation.”

General Scott, in 1850, acted as Secretary of War for a month after the death of General Taylor. He was at the same time acting as General-in-Chief. He, in the face of this law, received his pay of between \$7,000 and \$8,000 per year for one office, and \$6,000 per year for the other. Then Congress passed the following law:

“Provided, however, That hereafter the proper accounting officers of the Treasury, or other pay officers of the United States, shall in no case allow and pay to one individual the salaries of two different offices on account of having performed the duties thereof at the same time; but this prohibition shall not extend to the Superintendents of the Executive Buildings.”

But that, sir, is evaded and disregarded by these loose-constructionists, who claim that the first and greatest commandment is, “Put money in thy purse;” and a few weeks since we had a case in which the Superintendent of the Census procured the passage of a law which had the effect, while he was receiving a salary of \$2,500 for attending to the duties of an office which he did discharge, to give him \$3,000 for pretending to discharge the duties of an office which did not exist. There is now in the Treasury Department, I am informed on the best authority, a clerk who receives one salary of \$1,600 as clerk, \$500 as superintendent of the Treasury Building, another salary of \$250 as translator, and who carries on the business in the Department in office hours of an *insurance broker*!

Several MEMBERS. Who is he?

Mr. DEAN. I have his name here in the handwriting of the person who gave me the information, and who had one of the policies he issued. [Loud cries of “Name him!” “Name him?”] I have no desire to publish his name, but will give it at any time when this statement is denied. Sir, this announcement seems to create a sensation in this House. Has it come to this, that not only the officers connected with the Government are professed stock-jobbers and claim agents, but the public buildings are turned into broker shops! Is it not time for us to direct our eyes eastward to the Bethlehem where the political savior will appear to drive the money-changers from the temple of our liberty? But this is not an isolated instance.

Mr. STEVENS, of Pennsylvania. Robert J. Walker?

Mr. DEAN. The gentleman cannot divert attention from the Galphimism or Gardinerism by attempting to connect the name of Secretary Walker with such transactions as this. While he held an office here, no man dared to assail his character. And during the time of a Democratic Administration there was no necessity for resolutions of inquiry or the appointment of investigating committees to report upon alleged malpractices; nor were rumors everywhere rife of frauds on the Treasury perpetrated by those who should be its most faithful guardians.

I had hoped to have been able still further to

prosecute this inquiry; to have shown how officers, entitled to fees instead of salaries, multiply the amount of compensation which the law allows by ten, twenty, and in some instances, a hundred; to have commented upon the abuse of Executive patronage in sending off foreign ministers with an outfit of \$9,000, and salary as large, for a few months—and of the recent attempt to increase the salaries, because with \$9,000 per annum they were not able to support as much *style* as the aristocratic ministers of the Courts of Europe. But I forbear. I have only hinted at these abuses—it is all that can be done within the time allowed—to expose them as they exist would require a volume. I shall be satisfied to have succeeded in directing public attention to them. We have seen, that in a time of general and uninterrupted peace, the expenditures of the Government have increased enormously—that many of the public offices are filled by soldiers of fortune, who serve only to plunder—that the Government is transformed into an instrument for ministering to private interests and rewarding party and personal favorites—that the Army has set itself above the National Legislature and tramples upon the Constitution and the laws, by using money before it is appropriated, contracting liabilities without legal authority—that when Congress limits the amount of its expenditures it utterly disregards such limitations and restraints.

What is the remedy for these flagrant abuses, and how can the danger arising from the further extension of military power be averted? Only by the restoration of the Government to safe, experienced, and economical hands; by a reform thorough and efficient in all its departments, and confining each strictly to the exercise of its constitutional functions. Will the election of General Scott have any tendency to accomplish this object? He is already connected with the Government, in the very Department which has increased its expenditures most rapidly, and exhibited a reckless prodigality of the public treasure, openly defied the National Legislature, and set at naught constitutional restraint. Instead of proposing any reform, he asks for an addition to the Army. His past life affords the strongest evidence of his incapacity to effect anything by way of retrenchment, and his fixed determination to subject the civil to the military power. He is now, and has, for the last twelve years, been a Whig, and thoroughly committed to all the extravagant and mercenary schemes that have been advocated by that party. He is brought forward and supported by the speculating, stock-jobbing, Galphin interest. If elected, such men must give tone, direction, and shape, to the measures of his administration. They follow and attach themselves to a political party, as the buzzards are collected around an army, by an instinctive propensity to glut their ravenous appetites on the offal of the camp. In their opinion the Treasury has no bottom, or if it has, they are never satisfied until they find it. But independent of the men who stand as sponsors for General Scott, what are the “known incidents” of his civil life? Are they such as afford any guarantee, that in his hands the Republic will receive no detriment?

I pass over his unfortunate correspondence with De Witt Clinton, General Jackson, and Governor Marcy—his unsuccessful diplomacy with Santa Anna, in each line of which his pen has so fatally

dimmed the glorious achievements of his sword—these, furnishing though they do, the strongest evidence of incapacity for civil service, yet are not adapted to my present purpose, to show that the Government would not be economically and constitutionally administered by him. I will never, in the slightest degree, detract from his military reputation—he has no friend who will be more willing to do him honor. But when an effort is made to take him from his sphere, and place him in a position where he will, in my judgment, increase a tendency in the Government to which it is already too prone, it is a right, nay an imperative duty, to speak plainly and boldly against it. Every one who has an intimate acquaintance with General Scott, will accord to him the most marked propensity to invest all he does with grandeur and magnificence. Without counting the cost or caring for the expense, he projects schemes and undertakes enterprises for which the mines of California are wholly insufficient. Of economy he has not the slightest conception. This habit, or rather nature, has often led him into difficulties with individuals and the Government. Passing over those minor and frequent events of this character, I refer only to the fact of his taking, while in Mexico, without authority, \$7,800 of the money levied as a military contribution. His taking the responsibility to pay Santa Anna a bribe of \$10,000, and promising to pay \$1,000,000 more, and charge it as an expenditure of one of the departments of the Army, when he was sent to fight and not to bribe the Mexicans—his attempt to maintain his powers as head of the Army paramount to those of the representative of the American Government—all these “known incidents” are referred to now, not as matters of complaint, but as illustrations; as proof that he would not be a safe custodian of the public treasure, or a scrupulous observer of the Constitution and the laws, when these conflicted with his will or inclination. Now that he is a candidate for the Presidency, the fact that he has served the country in the field, and is elevated to the highest rank in the Army, furnishes no reason why these matters should not be fully discussed; for, as in the creed of Democracy, no human being is so low as to be beneath its elevating grasp, so no station is so high as to place its occupant beyond the reach of the popular arm.

Here, then, is the issue to be determined by the voters of the nation—to be canvassed and decided at the political gathering, in the work-shop, the manufactory, by the wayside and the fireside. Whether the public expenditure is to continue to increase at its present enormous ratio—whether the Government is to be transformed into a vast broker establishment, or restored to its ancient safe, economical, and constitutional basis—whether a victorious general, for that cause only, destitute of every civil qualification, at a time like the present, when the Army has become a predominant power in the State, should be placed at the head of public affairs, to have under his control the military and naval force of the country, and a more numerous, unscrupulous, and mercenary army of office-holders and expectants, who think his thoughts, speak his words, and execute his bidding, like the worm that takes its color from the leaf on which it feeds, reflecting in all things the will of him who makes them,—these are ques-

tions of momentous importance, which are involved in the issue before us.

But weighty and important as they are in the financial and economical views, they become vital to the existence of constitutional government, when we add the right assumed and exercised by the Army, to transcend the appropriations of Congress. And when we reflect that in this contest it is the military feeling alone which is sought to be appealed to and stimulated; that the candidate, in accepting the nomination, proposes a material alteration in the laws suggested by his "military

experience," thus offering a premium for war, and placing in the hands of the commanding general a power over the soldier as great as the celebrated Cross of Honor ever gave to Napoleon; and when in the same letter he adds, "and I should carry into the civil administration this one principle of military conduct," does it not force upon us the conviction that his thoughts are all in the military channel, and the apprehension that in case of his election, in any controversy which should arise, the sword would be thrown into the scale, and made the arbiter of our fate?

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